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man, to find in the original form of the Immanuel prophecy the hope of a national deliverer. The interpretation accepted is that before the child of some woman, the prophet's wife or the king's wife, known to be pregnant, has attained to the age of discernment, deliverance for Judah will have arrived.

Such obvious errors as *high-places* for *sin* in Mic. 1:6 are, of course, removed from the text. By the way, it is a source of constant regret that the Revised Version is so extremely conservative in matters of this kind. But the author does not run eagerly after attractive conjectures, e.g., he retains Isa. 25:8: "he hath destroyed death forever," though some keen critics regard it as doubtful. It does not seem to us to be at all a wild conjecture that this particular phrase is a marginal note from the pen of a pious scribe which afterward found its way into the body of the poem. But in an edition of this kind the conservatism indicated in the passage quoted above is probably the wisest course.

Great care is bestowed on the translation and in some cases an attempt is made to reproduce Hebrew assonances, e.g., Isa. 5:7: "For redress, but, behold a cry of distress." So also in the famous passage, Mic. 1:10 ff. This is satisfactory so far, though it is difficult for the English reader to enter into the spirit of these word-plays, and it seems doubtful whether a prophet in a serious mood would carry it to the length of the latter passage. In a volume of this kind there are points almost innumerable that could be selected for discussion, but as that is out of the question it must suffice to say that a work upon which such an immense amount of time and labor has been spent is suitable to render good service to the cause of biblical scholarship, and that if a large number of students, outside as well as inside the circle of professional theologians, can be found for such work as this, the Bible will become a new book to the Christian church and will be read with increasing intelligence and devotion.

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THE NEWLY DISCOVERED ODES OF SOLOMON

This is indeed the very heyday of exploration and discovery in matters pertaining to the life of that great world which we call the ancient. One important find treads upon the heels of the other. One of the ablest, most alert, and most successful of investigators and discoverers in the field of early Christian life and literature has been J. Rendel Harris. A share in the first publication of the Sinaitic palimpsest

containing the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (with which the names of Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson are so prominently connected) and in the unfolding of the Ferrar Group, and the discovery of the lost *Apology of Aristides* attest his skill, and the deserved good fortune attendant upon it. He now presents us with his latest and, as yet, his greatest find, the so-called *Odes of Solomon*.¹ He found them together with the *Psalms of Solomon* (better known to some of us as *Psalms of the Pharisees*) in a Syriac manuscript in his possession, which had been supposed to contain the canonical Psalms. The manuscript is late and of paper, much like our chief witness for the Greek *Shepherd of Hermas*, but in contrast with this, it is well written. It is defective at the beginning, two entire odes and a part of the third being lost. Mr. Harris' ingenuity, however, has succeeded in supplying a portion, at least, of the first ode, from the extensive quotations of these odes in the Coptic *Pistis Sophia*. The matter presented to us in this humble guise bids fair to stand forth as one of the greatest treasures of early Christian literature. As they stand, whatever one may think of the origins that lie behind them, these odes represent one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of Christian hymnals. And what splendid hymns they are! The church has produced nothing better than many of these to this day.

The manner in which Harris has presented this wonderful collection is, of course, admirable. The Syriac text is printed in the well-known, beautiful type of the Cambridge Press. It is accompanied by an introduction covering 88 pages, and by an excellent translation with commentary. In the case of a work destined to be so widely discussed and to play so important a rôle in the history of early Christian literature, one wonders what could have induced the experienced editor to omit all indices.

In the introduction and commentary Harris has brought to bear all of his wide and varied knowledge especially in the early patristic field. He takes up first the attestation in early indices and canon lists. In the matter of the so-called Stichometry of Nicephorus, as well as of the Synopsis ascribed to Athanasius, in which two alone the *Odes* are attested, Harris seems to have overlooked the fact that Zahn (*G.K.* II, 295 ff.) has made it very probable that the two are related to one another and that both are of Palestinean origin. The list of Cod. Alexandrinus and the Catalogue of the 60 Books mention only the *Psalms*, not the *Odes of Solomon*. Zonaras (11/12 century) identifies the *ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοί* of

¹ *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*. Now first published from the Syriac version by J. Rendel Harris, M.A. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1909.

the Council of Laodicea's canon 59, with the *Psalms of Solomon*; whether this includes the odes and on what authority Zonaras' statement rests seems uncertain. Use is made of the *Odes* in Lactantius, the *Pistis Sophia*, and, possibly, Irenaeus, all connected with the Orient. This would seem to make practically all the known attestation (except, possibly, Zonaras') oriental, with its center not far from Palestine. As to the original tongue in which they were written, little can as yet be said with certainty. It is practically assured that the Syriac of the *Odes* together with that of the *Psalms* goes back, as does the Sahidic (why "more exactly Thebaic"?) of the *Pistis Sophia*, to a Greek exemplar. But whether this Greek of the *Odes* is in turn, as is that of the accompanying *Psalms*, a translation from Hebrew (or Aramaic) is not clear. Their connection with the *Psalms* and with the name of Solomon is perhaps suggestive. And the content and the style are such, that it may well be said, that the writer or writers, if they were not Semites writing in a Semitic tongue, must certainly have been steeped in Semitic type of thought and thoroughly at home in the poetic style of the Semites.

The question, author or authors, for the major portion of these works of a rare genius, may well be decided with Harris and Nestle in favor of the singular. But with the question, Jewish or Christian, we broach the crux of the situation. On this point the debate is already waging hotly. Harris has decided for a Gentile in a Palestinian Jewish-Christian community. Harnack makes the *Odes* Jewish, with Christian interpolations. With Harris for Christian authorship stands Hausleiter (*Theol. Litbl.* XXXI, No. 12, col. 265-76); on Harnack's side we find Spitta (*ZTNW*, XI, 3, 193-203). The situation hinges largely upon *Odes* Nos. 4 and 6. Of these a translation, as literal as possible, is here given, not as in any way an alternative for or improvement upon Harris' excellent literary rendering, but in the hope that in connection with Harris' well-nigh faultless work it may bring the original nearer to readers who do not know Syriac. Ode 4 reads:

- (1) No man changeth thy holy place, my God.
- (2) And not shall he change it and establish it in another place,
because there is over it no power.
- (3) For thy sanctuary (shrine) thou didst plan before thou
madest the places.
- (4) The older shall not be changed by those who are younger
than it.
- (5) Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy faithful; never
shalt thou cease, nor be without fruits.

- (6) For one hour of thy faith is more precious than all days and hours (years?).
- (7) For who is there that shall put on thy goodness, and be hurt?
- (8) For thy seal is known and thy creatures are known by it (know it?), and thy hosts are powerful by it (possess it?), and the elect archangels are clothed with it.
- (9) Thou hast given us thy fellowship; not was it, that thou wast in need of us, but we were in need of thee.
- (10) Distil upon us thy dews, and open thy rich fountains, which send forth unto us milk and honey.
- (11) For there is no repentance with thee, that thou shouldest repent of anything which thou hast promised.
- (12) And the end was manifest unto thee; for whatsoever thou gavest, thou hast given gratis.
- (13) So that not, therefore, mayest thou withdraw or take them (back).
- (14) For everything was manifest unto thee as God, and was established from the beginning before thee; and thou, Lord, hast made all. Hallelujah.

Ode 6 reads:

- (1) As the hand moves in the *cithara*, and the strings speak.
- (2) So speaks in my members the spirit of the Lord, and I speak in his love.
- (3) For he destroys anything foreign, and everything is the Lord's (Harris conjectures: everything bitter).
- (4) For thus it was from the beginning and unto the end, that nothing should be (*or* come to be which is) hostile, and nothing should rise up against him.
- (5) The Lord has multiplied his knowledge, and he is zealous that these (things) should be known, which by his goodness have been given unto us. His praise he gave us unto his name (for his name's sake?).
- (6) Our spirits praise his holy Spirit.
- (7) For a rill went forth and became a river (the Syriac has a form usual in the meaning "light") great and broad.
- (8) For it overflowed everything and tore up and led to the temple.
- (9) And not were able to impede it the impediments of the sons of men, nor the arts of those who impede (Harris' "restrain" is, of course, better English) waters.
- (10) For it has come upon the face of all the earth, and filled everything, and there drank of it all the thirsty upon the earth.

- (11) And thirst was relieved and quenched, for from the most high the draught was given.
- (12) Blessed (μακάριοι, Copt.), therefore, are the ministers (διδάκονοι, Copt.) of that draught, they who are entrusted with its waters.
- (13) They have assuaged the dry lips, and the will, which had been relaxed, they have raised up.
- (14) And souls, which were near to departing, from death have they snatched them.
- (15) And members which had fallen they have straightened and raised up.
- (16) They have given strength for their coming (cf. Harris) and light to their eyes.
- (17) Because every one knew them in the Lord, and they live by living water forever. Hallelujah.

It is the attitude toward the temple, evidently the one at Jerusalem, which causes all the trouble. In Ode 4 Harris (and Harnack with some modification) conceives the reference of the unsuccessful attempt to change the holy place to be to the Onias temple at Leontopolis, destroyed 73 A.D. A slight inexactness may here be set right: the shrine at Assuan was, indeed, wrecked "after the retreat of Cambyses," but not until some time thereafter; not, in fact, until well along in the reign of Darius II (in his 14th year, 410/409 B.C.). Now, in the first place, those first four verses of Ode 4 might almost as well be conceived to be the slanting rejoinder of an extremely literal-minded Jewish-Christian to the ideas for which the names of Stephen and of Paul stand. And in the second place, it has been observed by Harnack and others that these first four verses stand in striking contrast with the rest of the ode. For the explanation of this fact an hypothesis along the line of Hausleiter's thought—which would make this first stanza baser metal, of ultra-Jewish or Jewish-Christian origin, taken up, added to, transmuted, and refined by the finer genius of the *Odes* (much as Luther treated the *Media vita in morte sumus*, etc., and Shakespeare the rough material of some of his plays)—seems to the present writer better than the assumption of Jewish origin with Christian interpolations. That the author of the sixth ode, who was probably identical with the author of the fourth, knew and cared little about the actual temple at Jerusalem is a fact which Spitta has stumbled over. Spitta tells us that the reference to the rill which flows to the temple is to the Gihon Spring, for which a way was made to the temple. This is news, indeed. We have waited long for Spitta and the *Odes of Solomon* to make this clear to us. The fact, of course,

is, that, however one conceives the case to stand between Johannine and other New Testament material and the material of the *Odes*, this picture of the temple and the waters is clearly secondary to that of Ezekiel, chap. 47, and parallels. Ezekiel knew the relation of the Gihon Spring to the temple; our author did not and did not care to. (Or will someone make his "rill," which may, of course, be a "canal" also, refer to the aqueduct from the Pools of Solomon, etc.?). To him the temple is an incident and little more than a shadowy symbol. The thing that chiefly engrosses him is the wonderful spread of the gospel. That this was to go out from Zion was a commonplace of early Christianity (Acts 1:8; Rom. 15:19). These considerations, and the fact that not only many of the odes that stand forth as the product of the same spirit and probably of the same author (Harris, pp. 48-52), e.g., Nos. 7, 8, 16, 17, 28, but also others which are probably the product of another mind or other minds, e.g., 19(?), 20(?), 24, 27, 29, 39, and 42, show very clear and for the most part very fine Christian strains, these facts cause the present writer's mind to lean strongly toward Harris' side in the debate over Christian versus Jewish authorship. Harris' supposition of a Gentile in the midst of the Jewish-Christian community which fled to Pella may be an over-refinement. A Christian of the type of Justin Martyr's *παλαιὸς πρεσβύτερος* (Dial. 3) would seem to the writer to fit the situation quite as well. But whatever one may decide in detail, it is the fresh, strong impulse of a new, great movement that characterizes these *Odes*, not the "weariness of a spent one," or the precise, tripping steps of one long bound by many traditions (much of which is found in the *Psalms of the Pharisees*, for example). Therefore the writer prefers to go with Harris "not quite so far, nor quite so fast as" Harnack. The fine reserve, the carefully judicial, conservative spirit so characteristic of the best English scholarship of today, is not the least of the good qualities of this book.

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The German version and discussion of the newly discovered Odes of Solomon² follows with gratifying promptness upon Dr. Harris' first publication of their text. It is helpful to have an independent German

²*Ein Jüdisch-Christliches Psalmbuch aus dem Ersten Jahrhundert.* (The Odes . . . of Solomon now first published from the Syriac Version by J. Rendel Harris, 1909.) Aus dem Syrischen uebersetzt von J. Flemming; bearbeiter und herausgegeben von Adolf Harnack. (Texte und Untersuchungen, XXXV, 4.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. vii+134 pages. M. 4.50.

translation of the Syriac text, especially in view of the obscurities which the mystical language of some of the Odes presents. Still more welcome is Professor Harnack's estimate of the Odes. Professor Harnack fully agrees that these are indeed the long-lost Odes of Solomon, quoted by Lactantius and Pistis Sophia, and mentioned by name in the pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis (sixth century) and the Stichometry of Nicephorus (ninth century). He finds both Jewish and Christian elements in them, and explains them as Jewish writings of a mystic-prophet of the first century (*ca.* 50-67), interpolated and rewrought into Christian form about the year 100. Harnack points out the prominence in the Jewish parts of the Odes of ideas and expressions which have hitherto seemed characteristic of John: grace, believing, knowledge, truth, light, living water, love, life. The presence of such ideas and expressions in late Judaism evidenced by these remarkable Odes, points to a line of Jewish influence, hitherto unsuspected, upon the Johannine literature. The Odes constitute in a sense a historical link between the Johannine literature on the one hand, and such Jewish literature as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs on the other. In this unexpected light on the Fourth Gospel, Harnack thinks, lies the chief historical significance of these Odes.

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THE SINAITIC SYRIAC GOSPELS

Mrs. Lewis found the palimpsest *Evangelion da-Mepharreshê*, in St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai in 1892. It was deciphered and published for three eminent Cambridge scholars in 1894. Mrs. Lewis afterward republished the text, with emendations and additions of parts not at first fully deciphered. Professor Burkitt based his *Evangelion da-Mepharreshê* (2 vols.) upon the Lewis and the Cureton manuscripts, and now Mrs. Lewis contributes another stately quarto to the literature of the Old Syriac gospels.¹ She has revisited Sinai and re-examined the palimpsest, while she has taken full advantage of Professor Burkitt's admirable edition. It is in part a feeling that that

¹ *The Old Syriac Gospels of Evangelion da-Mepharreshê*. Being the Text of the Sinai or Syro-Antiochene Palimpsest, Including the Latest Additions and Emendations, with the Variants of the Curetonian Text, Corroborations from Many Other MSS, and a List of Quotations from Ancient Authors. By Agnes Smith Lewis. With four facsimiles. London: Williams & Norgate, 1910. lxxviii+334 pages. 25s. net.